India

FOR THE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE India Office resumed the publication of Lord Curzon's famine telegrams not a day too soon. Telegraphing on Tuesday last the Viceroy reported that there were 446,000 persons in receipt of relief, of whom Bombay accounts for 353,000, and the Bombay Native States for 41,000. We expect daily to hear that the Lord Mayor has reopened the Mansion House Fund, and presumably one of the first duties of the House of Commons, when it reassembles next week after the Whitsuntide recess, will be to vote a national grant of at least five millions sterling to the aid of the sufferers through famine.

One of the speakers at last Friday's Indian Conference in London vehemently repudiated the notion that any sane Indian could contemplate Russian rule with equanimity. The repudiation was natural. Nobody but a few feather-brained journalists believes either that a Russian invasion of India is possible or that Russian rule would be acceptable to Indians. We have just had an instructive example of what Russian rule means. The Odessa correspondent of the "Times" telegraphed last Friday:—

> In consequence of the absence of any serious attempt to assist the starving population of the famine-stricken districts of South Russia a serious epidemic of scurvy has broken out over a large area. Eye-witnesses declare that the condition of the wasted peasantry is deplorable in the extreme. The majority have been subsisting for months solely on miserable doles of black bread made weekly, which, in the opinion of the doctors here, is responsible for the outbreak.

Two days later came the news from St. Petersburg that the publication of the "Novoe Vremya" had been prohibited for a week. The journal had caused "displeasure in high administrative quarters" by urging the Government to improve the condition of the working classes.

It is a pleasure to recognise Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree's assiduity in calling Mr. Chamberlain's attention to the grievances of British Indian subjects in South Africa. Last Friday he put a question in the House of Commons with reference to the disabilities of Indians in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. Mr. Chamberlain replied:—

> The legislation of the late Government of the South African Republic remains in force until modified. I have not yet learnt the views of the new Administration as to the changes to be made in regard to the regulations in question, and I propose to discuss the matter with Sir A. Milner now that he has arrived.

We take this as a pledge that Mr. Chamberlain will fulfil the policy he urged upon Mr. Kruger. But there is still need for the greatest vigilance. And how about Indians in Natal?

Lord George Hamilton, as we reported last week, dined the other night (May 22) with Sir Seymour King, M.P., the Mayor of Kensington, who gave a mayoral banquet to the numerous Anglo-Indians of distinction resident within his jurisdiction. Lord George, who, of course, was principal guest, was in rather generous mood, supported if not inspired by the strong backing of the multitude of his political friends present. He took up an attitude that would be most praiseworthy were it only consistently and steadily maintained. He commended the recent distresses of the famine-stricken Indians to the sympathy of his friends, expressing admiration for the resignation and dignity with which the people bore their fate, and acknowledging their gratitude for the "stupendous and successful efforts which the Government of India had made to mitigate their sufferings." One good thing at all events had come out of this furnace of affliction, and that was "a happier and a kindlier feeling between those who had to administer and those who had to obey." We dislike to interpose a harsh word, but surely this feeling might be evoked and cherished without the aid of the horrors of a famine; all that is needed is the most ordinary courtesy in an extended intercourse between the parties.

We are not so sure that Lord George did not overstate the case when he said casually that the Indian Government "must necessarily be autocratic, both in its composition and procedure." That is an ancient official tradition which the mental development of the country has for long been outgrowing, and now we have no doubt the time is fully ripe for a liberal admixture of Native capacity and experience in accordance with the large Imperial policy laid down in 1833 and confirmed in the most solemn manner in 1858 especially, and again in 1877 and 1887. Of course the autocratic idea conveys a strong sense of satisfaction to those that rejoice in the predominance of the whip hand; but we are quite sure that the British public, as well as the finer minds among us, are satisfied that it is an incomparably higher ideal to lead the Indians to assist in ruling themselves in full sympathy and harmony with the British Raj. This is a tolerably hard lesson for the authorities to learn, though some of them—Tory as well as Liberal—have learnt it, and tried to act upon it. We have every respect for the great "qualities of fearlessness, vigilance, and justice," and we agree that, so long as these are exhibited in the action of the Government, "it should not be interfered with in its beneficent career." At the same time, we must point out that it is open to every one to judge whether or not these qualities are exhibited in any particular case, and to exercise a fair criticism upon the facts. If Lord George will hold to the principle he put forward with some emphasis—"that if British influence is to be supreme it can only be secured on the bedrock of Native sentiment and Native esteem"—then he ought to find little difficulty in dealing satisfactorily with "the political aspirations of the Natives," and the other pressing questions of Indian politics.

We miss in the "Times" report an interesting passage that was preserved by the "Standard." Lord George Hamilton is reported by the latter journal as stating that "the first function of the Secretary of State for India was so to manage affairs that there should be no excuse for Parliamentary interference." Every Minister dislikes such interference. But after all every Minister is subject to it constitutionally. Well, it is natural enough that Lord George should desire to be let alone. The conditions are tolerably simple: to furnish the country with ample information, and to see that the administration is sympathetic as well as energetic. Nobody, we should fancy, would invoke Parliamentary interference if those two points were quite clear. Lord George pointed out that "on no occasion had the House of Commons reversed a decision of the Indian Government." As he referred to the cotton duties, he may be assumed to have had in his mind the history of his own action in that matter, which is not easy to square with the doctrine of no Parliamentary interference. Furthermore, if the House of Commons has not reversed the Indian Government, we seem to remember a case where the Indian Government reversed the House of Commons—a still more objectionable line of procedure. Lord George knows the fate of the resolution on simultaneous examinations.

We had to rely last week upon the daily press for a

report of Lord George Hamilton's speech. The "Kensington News" gives a fuller account, of which we may cite the concluding passage:—

What had been accomplished in India by a number of Anglo-Indians was most satisfactory. They had established an executive administration which for activity and thoroughness could not be surpassed. They had re-organised the Civil Service of India, created a new army and a judicial service; and he was rejoiced, as one who had spent the greater part of his life in an armchair at the India Office, to meet the men who had done all that. The speaker then dealt with the future. They had, he said, to face the political aspirations of the people, caused in a great measure by the educational system which we had introduced, and the free Press which we had sanctioned; we had to deal with questions of sanitary reform and a number of changes which the increased standard of comfort which we had set up had rendered necessary. The measures to be taken in dealing with these subjects might infringe on the national sentiment; but if we approached these various questions in no blind spirit of racial superiority, he hoped we should be as successful in our future government of India as we had been in the past. Nothing was more constant to his mind than Sir Henry Maine's simile of the captain of a ship navigating a stagnant sea. The problem before all Anglo-Indians was to take out of the Indian civilization the best for the country, taking due account of the fact that what was suitable for England was of no value for India. We must never lose sight of the fact that if British influence was to be supreme in India, it must secure itself on the rock-bed of Native sentiment and Native esteem. (Loud applause.)

It is interesting to note that the "Standard" (as well as the "Kensington News") spelt Sir Henry Maine's name "Mayne." Such is fame!

Fresh instances of the excessive zeal of revenue collectors in Guzerat are continually becoming known. One such is reported by the "Mahratta." The villagers of Sahel were liable for an assessment of fifty rupees. Ghela Keshavji, a bania of the village, was reported to hold a deposit placed in his hands by the villagers liable to pay the assessment, and he was therefore, in spite of his denial, made to pay it himself. He brought a suit to recover the money, and the Assistant Judge, Mr. Madgaonkar, found that in the first place the deposit money was not in his possession, and secondly, that even if it had been, there was no provision of law by which he could be made to pay the assessment. Accordingly, the Assistant Judge granted him a decree for the illegally recovered assessment, together with interest, costs, and damages.

The untoward condition of things in Gujerat is illustrated somewhat painfully by the appeal of Mr. Sorabji D. Karaka, an agent of the Ahmedabad Fine Spinning and Weaving Company, Limited, to the Revenue Commissioner against his income tax assessment, which has just come to hand. Mr. Karaka alleges that the Income Tax Commissioner rejected his appeal "without giving any grounds or reasons for so doing or listening to a single word" from him. He complains of an over-assessment of Rs. 104-2-3, made upon profits that he has not earned, and challenges a criminal prosecution on his original affidavit of income. Whatever be the merits of the case, such a controversy is a most unfortunate result; surely, if the assessment be just, the justice of it could have been made clear to an obviously intelligent man. The situation illustrates the feeling of helplessness among the people. Mr. Karaka has a good deal to say about the injury done to the cotton mill industry—"the only industry of India"—which he says has been "sent to savage dogs" by the "pernicious policy" of the coinage system of 1893. He also denounces the "profit of 28 per cent. from the famine fund subscribed by the noble English, American, and European philanthropists"—a denunciation that follows naturally from the artificial appreciation of the rupee. And, finally, he expresses amazement at the rejection of the Revenue Commissioner's recommendation that Government should give up 45 per cent. of the total land assessment in Gujerat in consequence of the severity of the famine. It is needless to discuss the points. It is enough, meantime, to indicate the significance of such a complaint in such circumstances.

The moral of the Indian census has not been missed in America, though it has escaped the notice of some amateur economists in India and in London. The "Boston Transcript" (May 3) concludes an article upon the matter as follows:—

These results afford a striking commentary on the statements so persistently made by highly placed British officials that India is prosperous. So long as budgets can be made to show a surplus and merchants and traders earn satisfactory profits it is assumed that everything is going on as it ought, whereas in reality the true India, the India of the Hindu and Mahometan tiller of the soil, has been going steadily downhill. The handful of Englishmen who have persisted in asserting this fact have been dismissed as croakers. It has been quite useless for them to point out that the yield of the taxes on the consumption of the peasantry has been declining, and that the budget surpluses have been produced by manipulations of exchange, increase in railway earnings, and from similar sources that affect but a small minority, who no doubt have been prosperous; but at last there is ample evidence of it, of which England ought to take warning if she desires to promote the welfare of her great Eastern possession. The stagnation just recorded does not arise, as in some prosperous countries like France, from a thrift that verges on greed, but partly from the higher death rate, and partly from the decreased vitality of the people, which it will take many years of abundant harvests to restore, unless special and extraordinary economic measures are taken to stimulate its action. It is not merely useless, it is folly, to go on extending the area of empire, while tens of millions of its inhabitants are sinking into a condition of hopeless and helpless pauperism.

The Second North Arcot District Conference was held on April 6-8, under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. Ganjam Venkatrathnam Panthulu Garu. Resolutions were passed expressing "the universal sorrow" for the death of the Queen-Empress and congratulations to the King-Emperor on his accession. The agricultural situation was discussed at considerable length, an emphatic protest being made against the retrograde policy of revision settlements, and an earnest claim being put forward for "the old declared policy of revising the assessments solely with reference to changes of prices." To meet "the chronic indebtedness of the rayat population," the conference recommended the establishment of agricultural banks. A strong demand was made for an expansion of the system of primary education, for the relieving of Revenue officers of their executive functions, for the reduction of the salt tax to the figure of 1888, and for the raising of the minimum amount subject to income tax from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. The programme was very comprehensive, and embodied the questions of real urgency. It is gratifying to find so keen a local interest in these growing problems.

The discussion at the annual meeting of the Bombay Mill Owners' Association naturally turned on the depressed condition of the Bombay cotton industry. The "Times of India" considers that the two great problems before the mill owners are first, the retention and increase of the yarn trade with China, and secondly, the decrease in cost and increase in efficiency of the local system of production. Leaving the latter on one side our contemporary deals with the question of the China trade. It believes the outlook on the whole to be hopeful. Great areas which now take no yarn will certainly take a large supply whenever the means of transit are improved. In many places where Indian yarn penetrates, the people have given up the cultivation of cotton, preferring to depend on India, and use their land for tobacco, indigo, and millet. The decline in the export of yarn to China is due to a temporary cause, the disturbed state of that country.

There remains, however, the question of Japanese competition. The increase in the number of Japanese mills and the export of yarn is no doubt very great, but there are some other points to be taken into consideration. Japan is heavily taxed, being cursed with a war party and a huge navy. Its mill owners are themselves in distress. There is even some talk of a subsidy from the Japanese Government to assist them. This seems to show that the industry is not on a very sound basis, and it is difficult to see where the money for such subsidies is to come from. This is the view of the "Times of India," and it may be added that if a large expenditure is to be undertaken on both munitions of war and the fostering of home manufactures, the money must in great part be obtained from abroad. Japan must fall more and more into the position of a debtor country, and the annual drain must sink it further and further into poverty. Its prosperity will become a tradition of the past.

According to the "Tribune," however, the Indians should not look on the Japanese as trade rivals. The Japanese merchants are said to have decided to buy all their cotton in India, and to stop all transactions with American planters. Moreover, Mr. Narabayashi, the

Japanese Inspector of Finance, has been deputed by his Government to visit India in order to study its commercial condition with a view to an increase of the trade between the two countries. On the other hand there is a growing desire on the part of young Indians to go to Japan to study the industrial arts, and a part of the Hindu Memorial Fund of the Punjab is to be spent in providing scholarships for the technical education of Punjabi youths in that country.

It will be remembered that the High Court on appeal ordered the retrial of Sadakali, who had been convicted of murder at Noakhali, and sentenced to death by Mr. Pennell. At the new trial two teachers were selected as assessors, but the pleader for the accused objected to one of them because his headmaster, with whom he lives, was an assessor at the last trial. The judge, Mr. Geidt, disallowed the objection. In certain newspapers a letter from Mr. Pennell to the Government pleader had been published, suggesting among other things the calling of two new witnesses. The Government pleader declared at the trial that he had received no such letter, and these two witnesses were not called. When the mail left the case was still proceeding. Meanwhile, the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" announces that Mr. Pennell has set out for England by way of Delhi and Bombay.

It is reported in the "Simla News" that Mr. George Bryan, brother-in-law of the late Maharaja of Patiala, and some time master of his stables, has drowned himself in the Thames in consequence of the last instalment of the pension he drew from the Patiala revenues not having been paid. Mr. Bryan's tragic end, coming so soon after the death of the Maharaja, gives the "Tribune" an opportunity of drawing attention to the evil that may be wrought by European adventurers in the Native States of India. The Government of India, in its paternal solicitude, has undertaken to regulate the European travels of Indian Princes. But there would be comparatively little danger in such travels if the Princes were surrounded by healthy influences at home. The worst possible European influence is that of needy adventurers, whose proceedings would afford a better field for regulation.

The "Amrita Bazar Patrika" pleads strongly for a union of Mahometans and Hindus in the service of their common country. It points out that they have "the same country, the same sovereign, the same laws, and the same disabilities." They are not really of different race, the mass of the Mahometans in Bengal being the descendants of converts from Hinduism. Any political advantages which the Hindus may gain will be gained by the Mahometans also. By standing aloof from their Hindu fellow-subjects, the Moslems play into the hands of those, if any such there be, whose maxim is "Divide and Conquer." In the same issue our contemporary draws attention to what is at present a purely Mahometan grievance. The Accountant-General has decided to keep his office open during all Mahometan holidays; and the clerks thereof have just made a representation to the Viceroy, urging that this innovation should be discontinued.

We welcome a popular edition—a "new impression"—of the "Three Lectures on the Vedanta Philosophy," which the late Professor Max Muller delivered some seven years ago at the Royal Institution. It comes out as Vol. XVI. of his "Collected Works" (London and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co.). The first Lecture deals with the origin of the Vedanta Philosophy; the second, with the Soul and God; and the third with the similarities and differences between Indian and European Philosophy. Here is Max Muller's remarkable declaration, which we recently noted in another volume of his: "If philosophy is meant to be a preparation for a happy death, or Euthanasia, I know of no better preparation for it than the Vedanta Philosophy." The strength—and the weakness—of the Vedanta, "what distinguishes it from all other philosophies," is its union of religion and philosophy. Max Muller is here the herald and expounder of the Vedanta philosophy, and very little of the critic. The new issue will bring his charming Lectures into many more hands, and extend English interest in Indian thought and Indian affairs.

At Ripon on Wednesday, in celebration of the golden wedding of the Marquis and Marchioness of Ripon, a procession, including the civic and ecclesiastical dignitaries of the city, was formed at the Town-hall and marched to the Victoria-hall, where addresses were presented from the city, the Agricultural Association, the tenantry, and the Women's Liberal Association, of which Lady Ripon is president. A resolution was also presented by a deputation from the Yorkshire Dialect Society. Lord Ripon replied, thanking the deputations for the terms used in regard to his public life. He had tried to do his duty and to steer a consistent and honest course. He congratulated the ladies of all parties on the increased interest they were taking in political questions, and urged them to use their influence for the maintenance of a high moral tone in all public questions. Addresses were given by the Bishop and the Dean of Ripon. A nurses' home and a recreation ground are being established as memorials of the golden wedding.

An Anglo-Indian writes:—Statistics—figures do not to some minds represent facts. For instance, with a certain fluent and accomplished Madras Civilian, who has recently been so much in evidence, even the official statistics purporting to exhibit the mortality due to drought and poverty in Western India seemed to that gentleman less matters of fact than factors whereupon to show the "fallacies" of other folk. So it may be well to make passing note of one curious fact bearing on that subject which we find in the Bombay papers without any delusive encumbrance of figures. In the usually verdant and fertile province of Guzerat there is, it seems, an institution of a prize cup annually awarded for skill and success in—Pig-sticking. But this season the competition has failed and the cup cannot be handed out to any champion Nimrod in 1901. This is not for lack of skill or willingness amongst hunters of the mighty boar. The meet duly gathered somewhere between Surat and Ahmedabad; but the grisly tuskers had fled in quest of fresh woods and pastures new—if such could be found in remoter jungles. Only a few immature and unwary grubby grunters were left, just sufficient for the young bloods to flesh their spears upon. This fact may serve to convince even the most sceptical optimist of the intensity of the drought in the garden of Western India. There were no crops which the rapacious grislies could ravage, nor in the near jungles was enough sustenance left to induce them to remain within reach of the "shikar" beaters or the horseman's spears. So the prize cup had to rest in its case. Another fact noted by the disappointed hunters may serve for some folk better than any line of statistics to prove the wide scope of desolation. Guzerat abounds with large umbrageous trees; but some of these were seen only as ghastly relics—withered, bare, dead. The leaves had been stripped off by the rayats in the vain effort to keep their cattle alive, and bark had been peeled off either for fuel, or perchance to eke out scant remnants of grain or forest produce for food—of a sort.

Remittances on India for 60 lakhs were on Wednesday offered for tender by the India Council, and applications amounting to Rs. 1,29,30,000 were received at prices ranging from 1s. 3d. and 29-32nds to 1s. 3d. and 31-32nds. The following amounts were allotted, viz., in bills Rs. 29,28,000 on Calcutta, Rs. 17,73,000 on Bombay, and Rs. 6,96,000 on Madras, all at an average of 1s. 3.906d.; and in telegraphic transfers Rs. 4,64,000 on Calcutta and Rs. 1,39,000 on Bombay at an average of 1s. 3.968d. Tenders for bills at 1s. 3d. and 29-32nds and for transfers at 1s. 3d. and 31-32nds will receive about 46 per cent. Later the Council sold bills for Rs. 20,000 on Bombay at 1s. 3d. and 15-16ths. Last week remittances for Rs. 62,55,000 were sold for £414,644, making the total disposed of from April 1 to Tuesday night Rs. 4,41,01,792, producing £2,926,898. Next week the amount to be offered will be reduced to 50 lakhs.

Tenders for £1,000,000 India bills were opened on Tuesday at the Bank of England, and the total amount applied for was £4,025,000. The amounts allotted were in bills at 12 months. Tenders at £96 6s. 9d. will receive about 57 per cent. and above in full. The average rate per cent. was £3 12s. 4d.

THE LONDON INDIAN CONFERENCE.

THE annual gathering of Indians resident in England to confer on the outstanding questions of British Indian policy and administration was held on Friday last at the Westminster Town Hall. We give on another page a report of the interesting proceedings. The occasion drew together a very good attendance not only of Indians but also of Englishmen and English women whose sympathy has been enlisted in the cause of public justice. The speaking was well up to the accustomed standard, and the manifest earnestness of Mr. A. M. Bhimjee, of Bombay, expressed in tone and inflexion of voice, particularly struck and moved the audience. Nor was there on this occasion any ground for remonstrance with the younger speakers on the point of extravagance. The meeting was pervaded by a sense of seriousness, from the keynote struck by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji onwards. There was, indeed, but little that would be new to any of our regular readers, for all the subjects have been already discussed fully in every circle of educated Indians. But it was a useful opportunity for spreading the light among others who have given less close attention to the various questions. There is much virtue in "pegging away"—the only constitutional means of getting the authorities to lend a patient and favourable ear.

Mr. Naoroji opened the proceedings in a brief and conciliatory speech—brief, to give a fair innings to the younger men, and conciliatory in accordance with his uniform principle of action. Yet with all his mildness of expression he took care not to bate one jot or tittle of argument. As will be seen from our report, he moved a long resolution on the subject of the eternal and disastrous "drain." Admitting frankly, and even thankfully, the kindly intentions of the British people and the well-meaning efforts of the authorities, and disclaiming utterly any imputation of blame on individual officials, he set forth the progress of the root mischief, and affirmed impressively that while the drain lasts there is no hope for the country. "India must be bled" (to use the expression of Lord Salisbury)—there is the evil. The drain has increased from some four or five millions a century ago to some thirty millions now. Hence poverty and exhaustion; hence multiplied taxation; with the painful reaction of the one scourge upon the other. It is futile for Lord George Hamilton to repudiate Mr. Naoroji's argument, for that argument has been upheld by many of the most distinguished of British administrators in India, on grounds which have never been successfully assailed. True, for every rupee of the "drain" India obtains some equivalent: otherwise it would be a case of robbery, which nobody in his senses would ever allege. The point is that there is no economic return for the vast yearly sums drawn to England, and the country cannot afford to buy so much as its alien rulers compel it to buy. What then? Let there be a policy of peace, to shut off all unnecessary military expenditure. Next, let the various departments of Government and administration be opened up more fully to Indians of proved ability and character precisely on the same footing as to Englishmen, so that Indians shall be treated as the Act of 1833 and the solemn Proclamations of 1858, 1877, and 1887, declared that they should be treated. Finally, let the common expenditure on common objects be fairly apportioned between the two countries; for the £257,000 per annum already acknowledged as having been unfairly charged to India is in no sense adequate. The Indians welcome, and cling to, British paramountcy; they claim, on our own solemn promises as well as on the plain facts of the situation, the justice of fair treatment. The satisfaction of this claim may be postponed, to the hurt of India and of England. It cannot be denied.

In seconding Mr. Naoroji's resolution, Mr. J. M. Parikh limited himself to driving home this essential question of the fair division of expenditure. He reviewed the long series of wars in which India has fought the battles of the Empire, and has been saddled with the payment either of all the expenses or at any rate of the ordinary expenses of the Indian troops engaged. Being a lawyer, he worked out the action of the British Government in its favourite attitude of trustee for the Indian people. The diversion of Indian troops to South Africa and to China he naturally applied to clench his argument that India is compelled to maintain a larger military establishment than is actually necessary for purely Indian purposes. We are aware that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has certain other claims to put in the balance here; and when they are seriously urged we shall be ready to examine them; but meantime Mr. Parikh's argument holds the field. We must also agree with Mr. Parikh that the allegations of Indian prosperity need to be supported by evidence that the authorities have not yet produced to the public, and that in the absence of such evidence the allegations must be taken with heavy reservations. It will be time enough to talk of prosperity when the demon of famine has been chained or extirpated. Mr. Bhimjee, speaking in support of the resolution, dealt mainly with the great pledges of 1833 and 1858, and pleaded for their redemption with a simple fervour that went to the hearts of the assemblage. Quoting the manly and statesmanlike sentiments of Macaulay, he urged the necessity of great expansion of education. Not more than one per cent. of the revenue is spent on the educational agencies of the Government; and the whole country is begging and supplicating for more and more light. The advances that have been made since Macaulay's time are far from creditable to Macaulay's successors in the counsels of the rulers of India; but we contend with Mr. Bhimjee that education must be freely spread over the land, and that the necessary changes involved in the work must at all hazards be made. "The path of duty," as Macaulay said, "is plain before us; and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, and national honour."

The second resolution, moved by Mr. Romesh Dutt, dealt with the recurrent desolation of famine, the extreme poverty of the agriculturists, and the readiest means of remedy. Mr. Dutt justly insisted that this question is strictly supplementary to the preceding resolution. For so large is the proportion of revenue drawn from the poor cultivators that a reduction of the drain must be accompanied by a reduction of the land tax. Mr. Dutt recalled the views of the abler Viceroys and Indian Secretaries since the Mutiny, Liberal and Tory alike, showing how they were all formulated in Lord Lawrence's earnest counsel: "Assess low"; in the principle, vetoed on Lord Ripon's retirement in 1885, that no rise of rent should be based on any other ground than a rise in prices; and in the common political profession that India should be governed specifically for India's good. Since 1885, then, there has been no clear definite limit to the land-tax, and the consequence is that the cultivators have been deprived of the strongest motive for making permanent improvements, and even of the means of doing so if they had the most powerful inducements. As for irrigation, Mr. Dutt pointed out that not more than one-tenth of the cultivated area is under its protection, and that, where canals are not feasible, much might be done by tanks and wells. As for railways, they have been run up to the utmost efficiency of protection against famine, and their further expansion ought to be left to private enterprise and not be added as a fresh burden to the general finances. Mr. G. K. Singh, who seconded the resolution, enforced Mr. Dutt's contentions on similar lines of reasoning.

The third resolution, too, may be regarded as similarly supplementary to the first. It urged a more liberal representation in the various Councils, from the Viceroy's Executive Council downwards, and a more free admission of Indians to the various services. Mr. Pillai, who moved the resolution, effectively brought home to his audience how different the existing limited representation is from what is understood by representation in England. The free voice of the people is restrained by the predominance of nomination. By citing figures in detail, Mr. Pillai showed how unreal and how inadequate the prevailing system is. While there are admittedly great Native administrators in Native States, not one Indian has ever crossed the threshold of the Viceroy's Executive Council. "It is easier for an Indian to enter the House of Commons." Mr. Pillai found a bitter contrast in the new Commonwealth of Australia. Dr. S. K. Mullick moved the fourth resolution, urging a remedy for the political disabilities and hardships of the British Indians in South Africa. A special touch of local colour was given to this part of the discussion by the seconder, Mr. Joseph Royeppen, who had taken part in the recent loyal service

of the British Indians in Natal, and was able to speak from intimate personal knowledge of the facts.

The temperate yet firm exposition of these fundamental questions before a large and influential audience almost next door to the Houses of Parliament cannot but carry fruitful and lasting effects. But, after all, it is not to be forgotten that, however effective it may be at the moment, a single field day in the year is not everything. The essential foundation is the steady unceasing labour of individuals, day by day, and week by week, here and in India, in close association and in mutual support. If the flower of the annual conference is to continue to bloom, the roots must be nourished and tended carefully—and ever more carefully. There is yet much to be done in the working out of details, both of facts and of practical organisation.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

WESTMINSTER, Thursday.

A singular controversy has arisen over the Liberal boycott of the Milner festivities. Hitherto, the Sovereign alone has enjoyed the privilege of inviting guests in the imperative form of a command. Mr. Chamberlain's friends are evidently of opinion that this prerogative should be shared by the Colonial Secretary. Several Liberals had the hardihood to decline invitations to the banquet at which Mr. Chamberlain and the High Commissioner delivered political speeches last Saturday, and for their churlishness they have been soundly trounced by the Ministerial Press. Considering that for the last eighteen months Mr. Chamberlain has been denouncing his political opponents as enemies of their country, he should have known better than to expect their presence at his feast. But the partisan character of the gathering appears to have caused much annoyance to those who had wished to represent it as a proof of the confidence reposed in Lord Milner by men of all parties. The names of the guests were painfully suggestive of an assembly of the Primrose League. Sir Henry Fowler was the only politician in the room to whom the term Ministerialist could not be officially applied.

After all, however, the boycott was not exclusively a Liberal device. By some unhappy blunder, the Colonial Secretary in inviting the High Commissioner's old journalistic friends contrived to omit one of the most influential. Two of the Unionist journals had their representatives at the table, but the chief organ of Conservatism was left out in the cold. The sequel was forthcoming on Monday morning. Not a word of the speeches was reported in the "Standard." Mr. Chamberlain must have felt very unhappy, for he had been at the pains to supply every newspaper in the country with an official account of both his own and Lord Milner's oration. Practically all had the same ground of complaint as the "Standard," but the "Standard" alone gave expression to its displeasure by joining in the boycott.

Readers of the morning newspapers must have found excellent sport in the descriptions of Sir Alfred Milner's reception on his arrival in London. Parallel columns alone could do justice to the study in contrasts which was offered. In one paper the reader was informed that "the sound of the cheering rolled in an unbroken reverberation from Waterloo to Marlborough House," and that over the whole of the route the people stood on both sides three deep. A chronicler whose glasses must have been of a different colour could see no crowd at all, but merely a monstrous regiment of policemen. Curiously enough, the most rabidly Milnerite of all the London newspapers set its contemporaries an example in discretion by saying nothing about the aspect of the streets en route. It contented itself with describing the scenes at Waterloo Station and at Marlborough House, where, indeed, there was actually something to describe. Between those two points, the streets through which Sir Alfred Milner was driven, with Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain were little more crowded than usual, and only slightly more vocal. People who happened to be in Whitehall or Parliament Street at the time must have been impressed not by the cordiality of the demonstration but by its singular slightness; and, next day, they must have been even more impressed by the journalistic hardihood which showed itself equal to misrepresenting this placid scene as a whirlpool of popular enthusiasm.

What is the precise political significance of all this fuss and desperate make-believe? There can be no doubt as to the existence of a political motive. Mr. Chamberlain hinted at it in his speech, and Lord Milner avowed it in his. The luncheon party has been described by one Ministerial organ as a master-stroke of political ingenuity. But at whom was the master-stroke aimed? Is there a party within the Cabinet opposed to the tawdry ideals of Chamberlainism? Rumour points to no less remarkable an inference, and rumour in this instance derives support from some semi-official utterances. If a secret duel is really being waged between the Colonial Secretary and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the former seems to be having the best of it. He has enlisted a powerful ally in the Prime Minister. Moreover, the King has stamped the High Commissioner's policy with his approval by raising Sir Alfred Milner to the peerage and by bestowing upon him other marks of favour even more suggestive of personal sympathy. Finis coronat opus!—The sentiment is as obsolete as the language.

Before Parliament separated for one of those intervals of absolute repose with which it so frequently varies its ordinary course of idleness, the House of Commons enjoyed an electrical hour of eloquent sincerity. Eloquence it has had in abundance this Session, nor has it been without glimpses of sincerity. But not till Mr. Morley rose to deliver the philippic with which the country has been ringing ever since had members known what it was to find the two qualities, each in its highest degree, assailing their minds in combination. Mr. Morley excelled himself. For the first time in his life he made a speech in Parliament equal to the finest of his platform orations. The Opposition, almost in its own despite, recognised its true voice in the indignant accents of the orator, and filled the House of Commons with sounds of acclamation that recalled the fighting days of Mr. Gladstone.

Equally remarkable was the demeanour of the Unionists. One incident, which appears to have escaped general observation, was especially suggestive. Towards the close of his speech, Mr. Morley happened to remark that he had nearly done. "Hear, hear," interjected a foolish young Tory, whereupon every man on the Government benches turned and looked at the culprit in angry reproof. A year ago Mr. Morley would vainly have looked for sympathy from those benches. Now, there was no quarter of the House more determined that he should have a chivalrous hearing. Doubtless, the effect was due in some degree to the long probation of silence, during which the orator had been maturing his thoughts. But whether that be so or not, surely no man who can speak to such thrilling purpose has a right to pose as a dumb oracle.

London has been a city of pleasure and of conferences during the past week. The great popular festival of the early summer was favoured with superb weather, and according to the statistics by which even holidays in this era are put to a metrical test, the number of people who spent Whitsuntide in search of enjoyment was greater than in any former year of which the records are extant. Some of the congresses which usually assemble in Whitweek are still in session. The Unitarians have been discussing the ethics of religion all the week, while the miners of Great Britain, France, and Belgium, as represented by their delegates, have been considering projects of international co-operation which onlookers may be pardoned for regarding as slightly Utopian. Coming on the eve of the holidays and while Parliament was still in Session, the meeting of the London Indian Society was the first of this series of congresses, and certainly not the least interesting.

Our showmen have all become auxiliaries of the recruiting sergeant. Sydenham and Earl's Court have abandoned themselves this season to a glorification of the soldier's life, and now we are to have the Royal Military Tournament at Islington to assist the illusion. India and Australia are the subjects of the principal features of the military spectacle, India having been selected, not prophetically, it is to be hoped, as the scene of a realistic encounter, and Australia as the background of a pageant of British ubiquity. Lord Roberts will open the Tournament to-day, and some expectation is entertained of a visit from the King.

NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

THE SUGAR BOUNTY ACT.

[From an Indian Correspondent.]

Bombay, May 11.

The Bengal Provincial Conference, held at Midnapur, has been a great success. It had the good luck to secure so able a man as Mr. N. N. Ghose as President. Need I say that he acquitted himself with great credit? You will have already received a full report of the proceedings of the conference, and I refrain from making any observations of my own. The principal point of Mr. Ghose's speech referred to the reconstitution of the Civil Service of India on a radically new footing demanded by the times and the moral and material development of India. None will deny, as Mr. Ghose justly remarked, that the present Service is an anachronism. The conditions which prevailed at the beginning of the nineteenth century in India were entirely different from those of to-day. Yet this anachronism of the Civil Service is perpetuated. An agitation for the reconstitution of the Service might mean the interference of Parliament, and nobody knows what Parliament might do with a contingent of stalwarts who hold that the pledges of the Crown and Parliament should be faithfully carried out. The opening of the question means the opening of the entire question of the administration of India by the British. There is no saying where it might lead to. Has not Mr. Leonard Courtney questioned the permanence of the constitution of the Indian Government—that is, in reality of the Indian Civil Service? The time is coming when the matter must attract the attention of the British Legislature.

Mr. Ghose also referred to the reform of the police. In every part of India the cry has gone forth these many years that the rot which has been demoralising this Service should be drastically dealt with. But so many vested interests are involved that it is doubtful when we shall see the beginning of reform.

The official return of the twelve months' foreign trade of India gives the total imports of private merchandise at 76.27 crores, and of net treasure at 8.99 crores—total 85.26 crores, which is 6.41 crores better than that of 1898-99. But the exports of Indian merchandise are behind those of 1898-99 by five crores. Cotton and wheat exports have considerably declined. The latter have dwindled to vanishing point. Two years ago they were two crore cwts., but last year they were only 50,421 cwts. Cotton, too, has considerably declined in quantity and value, chiefly owing to the financial and industrial depression in Japan. The last named country is now the principal importer of Indian cotton. Against exports of cotton there of 5.59 crores in 1899-1900, the value recorded last year was only 1.83 crores. On the other hand owing to famine there was an enormous increase in the exports of hides and skins. I see in the issue of India of April 26 that Mr. Maclean wants to know all about the authentic statistics regarding sugar imports from Austria and Germany. He wishes for a Parliamentary Return. It is to be feared it has escaped his memory that in 1899 there was issued a Parliamentary Return which is full of information. By the light of that return and the later statistics he will be easily able to find out for himself the fact that the hollow legislation of countervailing duties has proved of no avail. As I strongly maintained then, the imports have not been checked, but on the contrary greatly increased. It was expected that this would be so. Germany had so well poured out its large quantity of sugar that it ceased to send us any fully five months before the countervailing duty legislation was passed by the Supreme Council. But like a giant refreshed, after a pause, it has begun again to export in larger quantity. As for Austria, it has steadily been increasing its exports. Their combined exports vex the soul of the Mauritius planters. Mr. Maclean asks why Frenchmen should be supported. But he forgets that there is a rich English firm in Mauritius. But let me exhibit the figures of Austrian and German sugar during the last four years:—

	Austria. Cwts.	Germany. Cwts.
1897-8	2,45,745	12,03,399
1899	10,68,787	4,13,971
1900	7,77,821	60,526
1901	13,27,310	4,01,980

Let Mr. Maclean and other staunch opponents of the countervailing duties ponder these figures. It goes without saying that the legislation has proved futile so far. Neither has it in any way assisted the indigenous industry which stands where it was two years ago. The Behar Commission has made certain suggestions, chiefly for improvement in the method of cultivation and production. But it is a question whether sufficient capital and enterprise among Indians are forthcoming to check these foreign imports. India will be rejoiced when not a single ton of sugar is imported from Mauritius or any foreign parts as was the case half a century ago. Meanwhile it is neither here nor there. But the strangest thing is that there is a recommendation to assist the industry by way of reduction in railway freight and other carriage charges. May it be asked whether such a concession is not tantamount to a disguised bounty? So while crying out against foreign bounty they are trying to introduce an inland one; just as they cried out against protective duties on cloth and introduced protection in the country by exempting excise duty on hand-loom productions.

INDIAN CONFERENCE IN LONDON.

CROWDED AND SUCCESSFUL GATHERING.

IMPORTANT RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

[From our Own Reporter.]

At the Westminster Town Hall on Friday last, May 24, a conference of Indians resident in the United Kingdom was held to consider and, if thought fit, to adopt certain resolutions regarding the amelioration of the condition of the Indian people. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji presided, and among those present were Lord and Lady Braye, Sir Roland Wilson, Sir James Blyth, Lady Arnold, Lady Tyler, Lady Macfarren, General Cook, General Henry Cayley, Mr. Lough, M.P., Mr. J. G. Weir, M.P., Sir William Wedderburn, and Sir George Birdwood. The hall was crowded, a large section of the audience being ladies.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who was received with applause, said that since the last conference they had lost their beloved Empress, but she had left for the Indian people a legacy that would be remembered by India for ever. That great proclamation, the noblest pledge that any sovereign or any nation ever gave to another nation, would remain for ever a bright page in the history of the world, and be associated with the name of Queen Victoria. (Hear, hear.) He was glad to hear that the Indian people had decided to keep that day as a public holiday. The Indian people had indeed mourned her deeply, and they would remember for ever the sovereign that had given them such a brilliant legacy. There was one consolation, however. Her successor, their present King and Emperor, had three times declared that he would follow in the footsteps of his illustrious mother. It was to the fulfilment of this promise that the Indian people looked for their amelioration. (Cheers.)

Mr. N. B. Wagle was then called upon to read letters regretting inability to be present, and expressing sympathy with the objects of the conference, from many Members of Parliament and others.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, again rising, moved the following resolution:—"That the fundamental cause of the extreme poverty of India—with its consequences of oppressiveness of taxation on land, salt, etc., of famines and pestilences, of the destruction and prevention of industries of Indians, and of the permanent chronic condition of scanty subsistence of the mass of the people—is the exhaustion of the wealth of India by thousands of millions during a century and a half, in the formation and maintenance of the British Indian Empire, and in the enormous increasing drain to this country, now amounting to £30,000,000 or more every year. That till this great evil of the 'cruel and crushing drain' is ended or very largely reduced, there is no hope or chance of the amelioration of the wretchedness and destruction of the mass of the people of India. And that the most important and effective remedies, which would enable India to be itself prosperous, as well as to advance the prosperity and strength of England, to supply all its wants of ample and sufficient revenue, of railways, irrigation, agriculture, sanitation, development of industries, trade, education, etc., are—(1) The faithful and conscientious fulfilment of the grand and noble policy, worthy of the British nation, pledged by the Act of 1833, and the great and solemn proclamations of 1858, 1877, and 1887, to treat Indians exactly like the British people, as British citizens; and (2) The payment from the British Exchequer of a fair share of all expenses incurred for purposes in which both England and India are interested." He said it must not be thought that he blamed any individual official for the present condition of the country. In his opinion every official did his best. What the Indian people complained of was the system of government which had been adopted in India, and which had been productive of very evil results. The fundamental

principle upon which this system had been founded was, to use the words of Lord Salisbury, "India must be bled." The system led to the abstraction of large quantities of the produce of the country, for which there was no equivalent return. It was this evil with which India had to contend, that a large portion of its produce was drained annually from the country, and this necessarily produced exhaustion and poverty. At the beginning of the last century the annual drain from India was something like four or five millions; now it was thirty millions. They had to add to this drain the exhausting cost of all the various wars which had taken place during the formation of the British Indian Empire, which cost had all been borne by India. The system of government in India created a terrible amount of misery. Although the amount of the taxation of India was comparatively small, it was very heavy and oppressive in its incidence, because the people were exhausted. If India were only allowed to reserve to itself the benefit of its products it would be able to spare any amount that might be required for the good government of the country. As long as this drain continued there could be no hope that India would be in any better condition than at present. What they asked and prayed for was that the policy which it had been declared over and over again should be adopted towards the Indian people might be faithfully and conscientiously fulfilled. The British people had declared what the policy should be, and the policy as they wished it to be was noble, but it had not been carried out faithfully by those to whom its fulfilment had been entrusted. In the words of the Lord Bishop of Bombay, the Indian people wished to have "self-government under British paramountcy," and that expressed the aim and object of the British people themselves as declared by their proclamations and Acts of Parliament. India was proud to be a partner with England; but for undertakings which benefitted both countries India claimed that a share of the expenditure should be borne by England. It was surely very extraordinary that one partner should have to pay everything and the other receive everything. (Hear, hear.) He did not think that any honest Englishman would be satisfied with such a state of things. The British public had distinctly laid down the policy which should be observed in dealing with the Indian people, and what India complained of was that that policy was violated. (Cheers.) He had pleasure in submitting the resolution.

Mr. J. M. Parikh, in seconding the resolution, complained that in India a large army was kept up not for the purposes of India but to fight the battles of the Empire at large. This was proved by the history of past wars. The Indian Army fought in the Afghan wars, the Persian war, the China war, the Abyssinian war, the Egyptian war, the Soudan war, and others, and in each case all the ordinary expenses had to be defrayed by the Indian Treasury. England undertook the duties of trustee in the administration of India, and asked the people to keep a certain number of troops for England's special benefit, and also imposed upon India the duty of paying for them. That was a most extraordinary way of fulfilling the duties of a trustee. (Hear, hear.) The Indian Army was clearly larger than was required for the purposes of that country, as was plainly shown by the number of troops that it was possible to withdraw for service in South Africa and in China. Why then, as these troops were kept in India for the purposes of the Empire, did not the British Exchequer cover their expenses? When Army Reform was so much in the air it would have been matter for great satisfaction, and, indeed, it would only have been just if the cost of a fair proportion of the Indian troops had been thrown upon the British Exchequer. Money had been squandered on war that should have been spent on the amelioration of the condition of the people of India. It was by reason of the enormous annual drain upon the resources of India that the people had been brought to their present state of distress and exhaustion. (Cheers.)

Mr. A. M. Bhimjee, in supporting the resolution, said he would like to see the British nation roused so as to carry out its pledges in regard to the treatment of the Indian people, for that would give lustre and honour everlasting to the whole Empire. (Cheers.) The British nation had pledged itself to treat Indians exactly like the British people, and to enable them to enter all services for which they were qualified. The Indian people honestly wished to be educated and to qualify themselves for service under the Government; but only one per cent. of the whole revenue of India was spent on education. It would be the proudest day in Indian history when these pledges were fulfilled, and he hoped he would live to see it. He appealed to the English people to honour their word and thus bring India closer to them. If they did that they might snap their fingers at the whole world. The Indian people wished to live under British rule. They loved Englishmen, and only wished they were allowed to love them more. (Loud cheers.) Indians did not want to be subjected to Russian rule; they hated the Russians, and he would be very pleased to give the reasons. "Keep your pledges," he closed by saying, "and we will bless you from the bottom of our hearts." (Applause.)

The resolution was adopted unanimously amid applause.

The Land Revenue and Irrigation.

Mr. R. C. Dutt, C.I.E., I.C.S. (retired), moved the following resolution:—"In view of the frequent and recurring famines which have desolated India in recent years, and the extreme poverty of the agricultural population, it is desirable that the Land Tax of India should be moderated and placed within fixed limits, and that extensive irrigation works, canals, tanks, and wells, should be undertaken for the protection of crops in years of drought." He said that this resolution should be considered as a supplement to the resolution moved by the Chairman, which had just been unanimously passed. The largest portion of the revenues of India was derived from the poorest classes, namely, the cultivators and agriculturists, and the annual drain from India was from the resources of agriculturists. Therefore he thought the annual drain from India was not likely to be reduced until the land tax was moderated, and the land tax was not likely to be moderated till the annual drain was reduced. Hence the two resolutions would stand or fall together. They were to-day face to face with the appalling fact that in India famines and deaths from starvation kept recurring, and were almost chronic after 150 years of British rule. He was old enough to remember the last days, the last years of the rule of the East India Company, and he remembered as clearly as he remembered the events of yesterday that great day in 1858, when it was announced in every town and almost in every village in India that the rule of the East India Company had ceased, and that the administration of the country had passed under the Crown. Within these 43 years India had enjoyed the blessings of internal peace. There had not been the slightest ripple of disturbance among the loyal population of India. (Hear, hear.) These years of administration had not, however, brought prosperity. On the contrary, within these 43 years there had been more than ten famines, and these famines seemed to be increasing in intensity. The real causes of these famines were not unknown to the first Viceroy, Lord Canning, who was the man who saved India during the dread days of the Indian Mutiny in 1857, and, after that mutiny, who tried his best to save India from even severer calamities, namely, recurring famines. Lord Canning witnessed one of these famines in 1860, and knew its causes. He noticed that the inhabitants of India were not a great commercial people, but were agriculturists, with four-fifths of their number depending upon the soil. To improve the material condition of India it was necessary to treat the agriculturists with leniency. Lord Canning made a proposal that a permanent limit should be fixed for the land-tax, which was really grinding down the people. Lord Lawrence succeeded him after a few years, and supported the proposal made by Lord Canning, that in order to improve the material condition of the people of India it was necessary to deal leniently with the classes depending on the soil. These proposals of Lord Canning and Lord Lawrence came to this country for ratification. The two Secretaries of State for India, Sir Charles Wood and Sir Stafford Northcote, were united on this point, that the Government of India should have mainly for its object the good of India and her people. And they approved of the proposals of Canning and Lawrence. But this question hung fire for a long time, and the generation which produced these statesmen passed away, and he regretted to have to say that twenty-one years after the death of Lord Canning the proposal which he had made, the proposal which had been supported by Lord Lawrence, was finally rejected in 1883 by the India Office at home. In that year they had as Viceroy of India the present Marquis of Ripon—(cheers)—who then submitted a modified proposal of permanent settlement of India. He laid it down that the land tax of India should not be raised in future except on the equitable ground of a rise in prices. (Hear, hear.) This rule was accepted by the Government of Madras and the Government of Bombay. It left a door open for the increase of the land tax on the ground of a rise in prices, but at the same time gave an assurance to the cultivators of India that the land tax would not be raised except on a rise in prices. Lord Ripon left India in 1884, and his moderate proposal was vetoed by the India Office in January 1885, and the result was that there was now no clear and equitable limit to the land tax. This tax paralysed agriculture, and took away the motives that might prompt a man to make improvements. There was absolutely no motive for a farmer, except in the permanently settled tracts of India, to make permanent improvements, and many of the horrors of recent famines were owing to the unsatisfactory condition of this land-tax. Turning to that part of the resolution which dealt with the protection of the crops by irrigation works, he said that they in India were greatly dependent on the annual rains. A great deal of irrigation work had been done in India, and the present Viceroy, Lord Curzon, was fully alive to the importance of more irrigation works. Out of the 220 millions of acres under cultivation in India, only about 20 millions were protected against drought by irrigation works. Where it was impossible to construct irrigation canals it was quite possible to construct tanks and wells. A great deal of money had been spent in India, under a guarantee of profits out of the revenues of the country, on railways. Some 250 millions had been spent in this way. These railways had been a financial failure, because the Blue-books showed that more than 50 millions had been lost, and they were still a losing concern. It would thus be wrong in principle to construct any more railways out of the revenues, or under a guarantee of profits from the revenues. If there was any opening for the construction of fresh lines let private companies undertake it. Now that all the railways required for famine protection purposes had been made there was no pressing need to hypothecate the public revenues for fresh lines. There was a strong feeling in England that these great famines should not take place after so many years of British rule, and that something should be done to prevent the recurrence of these famines. There was no mystery about India. The economic laws which governed India were just the same as those which governed other countries. Unfortunately it was a fact that most of the Indian industries had perished, that agriculture was heavily taxed, and that they had a financial system under which a great portion of the revenues of India was taken out of India. These were the causes of famines, and these causes must be removed.

Indians were prepared to take their share in the civil administration of their country. The exclusive policy, the undignified policy, the unwise policy of not properly representing the people in the administration of the country when they were prepared to take their share in that administration of their own concerns, was at the root of poverty and famines. They should impose upon the people themselves, jointly with English administrators, the task and the responsibility of preventing future famines, and of promoting the prosperity of the Indian Empire. (Cheers.)

Mr. G. K. Singh in seconding the resolution said that a halfpenny per head was all that was spent on education in India. It was a fact that most British politicians had admitted that the cultivators of India were in a condition of impoverishment and great suffering. They called upon Britain's sense of justice. The whole power was in the hands of the British taxpayer. (Hear, hear.) They could influence their representatives, and thus help to do justice to the people of India. (Cheers.)

The resolution was unanimously carried.

Indians and the Services.

Mr. G. P. Pillai, B.A., said he had great pleasure in proposing the following resolution:—"That in order to improve the administration of India, and to associate the people in the management of their own affairs, it is desirable to extend the representative element in the legislative, municipal, and other councils of India, to admit representative Indians to the Executive Councils of India, and the Council of the Secretary of State for India, and to give effect to the solemn proclamation of 1858, graciously granted by our late Empress of India, and frame rules which would remove all existing restrictions, and enable the people of India to enter all services for which they are qualified without distinction of race or creed." They had, he said, no representation in India in the sense that people had it in England. It was unreal in the first place, and secondly it was not adequate. It was necessary in India that everyone of the persons elected by the people should receive the approbation of the Viceroy or the Governor, as the case might be. Let them try to imagine such a state of things in this country. In spite of the fact that the people of India, as far as their intellectual attainments were concerned, had the ability to rule themselves, there was not a single Indian on any one of the great Executive Councils of India. There was not the smallest doubt that the people had shown their capacity, but it was easier for an Indian to enter the British Parliament than to become a member of one of these Executive Councils. If the solemn proclamation of 1858 had been carried into effect he was quite sure that they would not be there to complain of the British Government. The only way in which they could remove this oppression was by the assistance and co-operation of the British public, and he had no doubt that they would eventually succeed. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. G. K. Gadgil, B.A., seconded the resolution. He said that he would like to make clear one or two points which had been touched upon by previous speakers, but which had not been dealt with at length. He had heard often from British friends that Indians always talked about their political disabilities, but not one word about the benefits conferred on them by British rule. Free education, easy and rapid modes of communication and other benefits had been conferred upon them. They were undoubtedly sincerely grateful for all these blessings. It was also said by some people that the Indians who cried aloud about their grievances were only the educated. If anyone loved Britain truly it was the educated Indians, for they appreciated the benefits that were conferred on them. Many of the evils of India would be remedied and removed if representatives of the Indian people were admitted to the present exclusive councils, and the number of those who made up these councils were augmented. When those and similar reforms were accomplished he thought that Great Britain would have fulfilled her great mission, and would have realised her imperial ideal. (Cheers.)

The resolution was carried amidst cheers.

British Indians in South Africa.

Dr. S. K. Mullick moved "That this conference views with deep regret the political disabilities and hardships of Indian subjects of his Majesty in South Africa, and urges the Government to effectively remedy the state of affairs on the conclusion of the present war." He said that this was probably the first time that this matter of the disabilities of his Majesty's subjects in South Africa had been brought before many of them. The treatment of British Indian subjects in South Africa was one more reason why the Boer Republics should be swept away, and the British Crown take their place. Indians wished to appeal to British generosity and justice to remove the disabilities of Indians in South Africa. The most humiliating restrictions were placed upon them. They were not allowed, for instance, to travel either first or second class on the railways. Indians were not allowed to own land and were not permitted to have licenses for gold-digging. (Shame.) Asiatics were not permitted to remain in the State for more than two months without special permission. They were limited to locations and could not use the footpaths or public vehicles. At the time when Great Britain entered upon one of the most serious wars upon which she had ever been engaged the people of India did all that was in their power to aid her, offering not only their soldiers and their purses but also their Princes. (Cheers.) Indian troops were not accepted owing to the particular circumstances of the quarrel, but had their Sikhs been accepted the war would now have been a matter of ancient history. ("Hear, hear," and laughter.) Although Indians were debarred from actual service in the field they were able to do excellent work in succouring the wounded. (Cheers.) He was sure those present would agree with him that these Indian disabilities could not continue, and that the resolution was worthy of their support. (Cheers.)

Mr. Joseph Royeppen said he was born in South Africa, and knew the disabilities under which Indians suffered in Natal. Perhaps it would be as well for him to enumerate some of their disabilities. Indians were not allowed to buy any liquor to carry away with them, but were obliged to drink all they wanted on licensed premises. The result was that drunkenness had increased among them, though fortunately they were not usually followers of Bacchus. An Indian when arrested had no claim for damages against the person who arrested him. In Maritzburg and Durban no coloured person was allowed to be out of doors after nine o'clock. No Indian, unless his annual rent amounted to £10, could vote at Parliamentary or municipal elections. No Native not belonging to a country where there were elective institutions could vote unless he was specially exempted from the law. No unqualified voter could sit as a juryman. He was one of those who served as leaders of the Native ambulance corps that was raised in Natal, and he could say that Indians resident in South Africa did not deserve half of these oppressive laws against them. It was the duty of Englishmen to urge the Colonial authorities to see that the Indians who had done so much for the Colony and for the Empire were better treated in the future. (Cheers.)

This resolution was also carried unanimously.

Mr. J. Ch. Mukerjee then moved "That the President and Secretaries of the London Indian Society be requested to forward the resolutions to the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for India, and the Secretary for the Colonies, for their kind and favourable consideration and action thereon." He said there was evidently a state of unrest not only in India but also in the minds of their friends in this country, an unrest proceeding from a very pregnant source, namely, the depletion or the bleeding of the country which was going on, and which was coeval with the British occupation of the country. The latest Indian census showed that in the last decade India had lost thirty millions of people. There was a very evident state of unrest in India, and the cause of it should be removed. (Cheers.)

Mr. A. Das, in seconding the resolution, said that nothing had struck him so much as the keen intelligence with which the audience had followed the various speakers. They had already given their adhesion to individual propositions. It remained for them to crystallise their aspirations, and give effect to their undoubted sympathy by sending these resolutions to the different executive authorities. He was sure that if these authorities were to display the same broad mindedness as had been shown that afternoon with regard to Indian affairs India would be very near the fulfilment of the great proclamation of their late Gracious Sovereign Queen Victoria, and thus would be handed down to posterity the indissoluble unity which could only spring from a loyal and contented nation. (Cheers.)

The resolution was passed unanimously.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding at the conference was then moved, and seconded; and carried unanimously.

Imperial Parliament.

Thursday, May 23.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE MANUFACTURE OF OPIUM.

Mr. Samuel Smith asked the Secretary of State for India whether he was aware that the number of acres under poppy cultivation in Bengal during 1898-9 was 564,000, being the largest in the decade, and an increase of 24,000 on the previous year; that the number of chests of opium manufactured in the Bengal Government factories in 1898-9 was 54,192 as against 46,834 in 1897-8, being larger than any other year in the decade; and that the payments made to cultivators of the poppy in Bengal by the Indian Government in the same year amounted to Rx. 2,217,786 as against Rx. 2,021,536 in the previous year, being the largest amount in the decade: And, seeing that the pass duty on opium exported from the Malwa States was lowered in 1897 to Rs. 500 per chest, being the lowest figure at which it had stood for nearly 40 years, in order to overcome the competition of other crops and prevent the poppy from being driven out of cultivation in those States, whether he proposed to take any steps to discourage the increased growth and manufacture of opium in India.

Lord G. Hamilton: I am aware that the area under poppy cultivation in Bengal in 1898-9 was larger than in any other year of the decade, and that the quantity of opium produced was considerably larger than it was in the preceding year, mainly owing to a good agricultural season. But the production of 1888-9 was greatly below that of several successive years of the preceding decade, nor was the quantity of opium manufactured for export and for internal consumption in 1898-9 as great as the average quantity annually exported during 1889-1890. As the production of opium in India varies greatly from year to year, and has not increased, but diminished on a comparison of the decade ending 1899 with the decade ending 1889, I see no reason for taking such action as is suggested.

THE NEW FRONTIER "PROVINCE."

Mr. Herbert Roberts asked the Secretary of State for India whether he had received any official report as to an attack made upon a party of South Waziri Militia on the road between Kajurikach and Khasmir Kar, and whether the attacking party were tribesmen of the same Pathan race as the militia regiment

under British officers which was attacked: And, whether he could give an assurance that, under the military arrangements for the trans-frontier portion of the new province recently created, care would be taken to avert the danger of these Afghan levies under the Political Department being entangled in tribal and other blood feuds which necessitate military expeditions into these regions.

Lord G. HAMILTON: I have received a report of the incident to which the hon. member refers. The attacking and the attacked party were of different tribes, but both were Pathans. The hon. gentleman may be sure that every care is taken to avoid entanglement in tribal warfare, and that the recent military arrangements tend to diminish this danger.

LIGHT RAILWAYS.

Sir JOHN LENG asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Government of India, pursuant to Lord Curzon's wish to extend economically constructed lines in the rural districts, had signified its willingness to accept the co-operation of local Indian capitalists in the promotion of such light railways, and also in the construction of district and village works for water storage and irrigation channels: Had it been brought to his notice that early in 1899 a company or syndicate applied to the Indian Government for sanction to construct several light railway lines in or adjoining the district of Ganjam in the northern portion of the Madras Presidency, most of which lines would serve as feeders to the East Coast Railway, and seeing that revised estimates amounting to 14 lakhs for the construction of one of these projected lines, 47 miles in length, intended to connect Russeli-coonda near Ganjam with the coast, were submitted many months ago, would he explain why the Government approval or disapproval had been delayed: And, in view of the fact that one such light railway had been laid already by a local zemindar up to the limits of his own domain, the syndicate being willing to extend it further, could he say when a decision upon these proposals might be expected.

Lord G. HAMILTON: The Government of India are undoubtedly willing to accept the co-operation of local capitalists for the purposes described in the question. As regards the particular case referred to, I have no recent information as to the position of the negotiations, but I will make enquiry and let the hon. member know the result.

THE ARMY IN INDIA.

Mr. YERBURGH asked the Secretary of State for War whether he could state the total number of men now required for the Indian reliefs to set free all men in that country who have completed their period of colour service.

Mr. BRODRICK: Taking the period up to September next about 11,000 would be required for all the units now due for relief.

Friday, May 24.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

BRITISH INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if, with the British occupation of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, the various regulations by which the Boer Administrations had sought to impose disabilites on British Indian subjects residing in that region were invalidated; and, if not, having regard to the fact that such regulations were in breach of the Pretoria Convention, would he authorise the administrators in those Colonies to publicly declare that all such regulations would have no effect from the date of their passing under British domination.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: The legislation of the late Government of the South African Republic remains in force until modified. I have not yet learnt the views of the new Administration as to the changes to be made in regard to the regulations in question, and I propose to discuss the matter with Sir A. Milner now that he has arrived.

NOTICES OF MOTION.

The following Notices of Motion appear upon the Order Paper of the House of Commons:—

Mr. HENRY J. WILSON,—Opium,—To call attention to the Indo-Chinese Opium Trade; and to move, That, in the revision of Treaty relations between this country and China, it is desirable to offer to the Chinese Government complete freedom to take such measures, whether by increased taxation or otherwise, as it may judge necessary, for the suppression of the Opium Traffic.

Sir SEYMOUR KING,—Cooper's Hill College,—To call attention to the Correspondence and Papers laid upon the Table of the House in connexion with educational changes at Cooper's Hill College; and to move a Resolution.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

446,000 ON RELIEF.

The Secretary of State for India has received the following telegram from the Viceroy, May 28:—

Famine.—Number of persons in receipt of relief:—Bombay, 353,000; Bombay Native States, 41,000; Baroda, 26,000; Haidarabad, 14,000; Madras, 5,000; Central India States, 6,000; Central Provinces, 1,000. Total, 446,000.

THE "INVESTORS' REVIEW" FUND.

We take the following from the current issue (May 25) of the "Investors' Review":—

Subscriptions to our little fund, from which not a penny is deducted for advertisement in newspapers or any other kind of charges, may be sent to A. J. Wilson, at this office; cheques to be crossed "Union Bank of London, Indian Famine Fund."

	£	s.	d.
Amount previously acknowledged	£950	16	2
A Friend	0	10	0
M. Gutteridge, Esq., Naples	2	0	0
Total	£953	6	2

The "Morning Leader" wrote (May 29):—

The numbers in receipt of famine relief in India are mounting up. Lord Curzon telegraphed yesterday that they were 446,000. Last week they were 411,000, the week before 381,000, and three months ago 211,000. In other words, during the past quarter the number has been doubled and more. This is bad enough. But the really awful fact is that India has now entered upon a third year of continuous famine, the effects of which are cumulative. Nor should it be forgotten that the present famine, which began in the summer of 1899, was separated by only a brief interval from another famine which Lord Elgin described as the worst of the century. There are those who hoped that the recrudescence of famine which showed itself early this spring would be confined to the Bombay Presidency. But the figures contained in this morning's telegram show that the hope is disappointed. The Bombay Presidency and the Bombay Native States account, it is true, for the greater part of the numbers on relief. But it is significant that the figures for the Central India States also mark an increase upon last week. We take it that the Mansion House Fund, which ought not to have been closed, will now be re-opened, and that Parliament will on an early day vote a national grant towards famine relief. Lord George Hamilton told an audience of applauding Anglo-Indians last week that "the first function of the Secretary of State for India was so to manage affairs that there should be no excuse for Parliamentary interference." If that be true, can it be said that Lord George Hamilton has succeeded in his first function?

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI AND LORD G. HAMILTON.

(*Concluded from page* 250.)

Washington House,
72, Anerley Park, London, S.E.
February 26, 1901.

My Lord,—Since I wrote to you on December 11 last great events have happened. A most illustrious Sovereign, most deeply and warmly beloved of the Indian people, has passed away. A new Sovereign comes to the throne in the very first year of the new century. And you are the first ruler of the century over the mighty Indian Empire.

Now, though the beloved Empress has passed away, she has left her will—her greatest, her most noble, and her most glorious legacy to the Indian people—worthy of herself and of the great British nation over whom she reigned.

There is not an event in her own whole glorious reign, and in the history of mankind, nobler, more glorious, more demonstrative of the humanity and civilisation of Britain, and more productive of far-reaching good to the British Empire, and even to the world at large, than her great and gracious Proclamation of 1858, twice confirmed in 1877 and 1887.

She has left this will for us, and the fact that this inheritance of ours will ever remain with us, so will her name ever remain with us.

Her son and our new Emperor thrice declared—before his very first Council, before the world, by his Proclamation issued by yourself, and before Parliament in his very first gracious speech—that he will walk in his good mother's steps. Who now is to be the executor of that gracious and glorious will, and to enable the Emperor to walk in the sacred footsteps of his mother? In that will whom did she appoint her executors, for whom did she pray to God to enable them to carry out her wishes for the good of her people?

She prayed: "And may the God of all power grant to us, and *to those in authority under us* (italics are mine), strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people." And who are those who are "in authority under us"? You are the head of those who are under such authority. Upon you devolves the responsibility of the execution of that great will. You are the first man to help the Emperor to fulfil the wishes of, and to walk in the footsteps of, his good mother. Will you rise to the height of this great and glorious responsibility and opportunity? I, as an humble subject of the past and present Sovereigns, fervently join, and so would all India join, in the prayer that the God of all power may grant to *you* the strength to carry out her wishes for the good of her people. I appeal to you as your highest duty to yourself as an Englishman, your highest duty to the departed great Sovereign, to the present Sovereign, and to the British people—and still more as to the people whose destiny is placed in your hands—that you should loyally, faithfully, and conscientiously fulfil the charge that is committed to your care.

My lord, there are two courses open to you: either to fulfil honourably and righteously the great and solemn pledges of the British people, Parliament and Sovereigns, to a helpless and down-trodden, perishing people, forming a fourth or fifth of the human race; or to persist in the evil course of the last century to violate in the most disgraceful and dishonourable manner their solemn pledges.

Though I discuss further on the probable consequences of each of these two courses, I appeal to your sense of duty, justice, honour and righteousness alone—a sense which a true Englishman values above everything else, regardless of consequences, when he says: "Be just and fear not."

Before you start your work in the new century, it behoves you, even if you did not rest upon the sense of duty alone, to consider the consequences of each of these two courses.

As to the consequences of the first course, the good Queen herself has pointed them out unmistakeably. She has given it in three words—"prosperity," "contentment," and "gratitude" of the Indian people: and in their prosperity will be the strength, in their contentment will be the security, and in their gratitude will be the reward of the British people; and I may add, the far greater prosperity of the British people themselves.

It is impossible for me to give a more concise, a more significant and a more complete forecast of the results of the righteous course of the fulfilment of the pledges than what is given by the Queen herself in the Proclamation itself, in the few words quoted above. "Prosperity," "contentment." and "gratitude" for Indians; and "strength," "security," and "reward," and I may add "greater prosperity," to the British people. I would only add here the forecast you yourself have made, viz., "So long as the instincts of justice and fairplay which were inherent in Englishmen characterised our rule in India, so long would the foundations of the Empire there be stable and lasting." (Ealing, 23-11-1900.) This is exactly what I have been all along saying, for I have been appealing to those very "inherent instincts of justice and fair-play of Englishmen." The past century, in the utter violation of the most solemn pledges and Acts of Parliament, has been all along guilty of injustice and bad-play. Can any Englishman conscientiously say that the action of the authorities in the past century has been in accordance with the inherent instincts of justice and fair-play of the Englishman? Would to God it had been so, and the Indians would not have had to plead, and plead, and plead in vain and cry in the wilderness, but would have had now to bless the name of Britain.

Yes, my lord, all I ask is to act in accordance with the instincts of justice and fair-play, which are inherent in Englishmen, and fulfil faithfully and conscientiously the solemn pledges given to the vast masses of India. Then only will the present result, arising from the hope of the fulfilment of the great Proclamation, continue which you yourself have described as "that in time of trouble, so far from India being a source of disquietude and weakness to Great Britain, it would be found to be a source of strength." (Speech at Ealing, 23-11-1900.) Yes, it will continue to be so, only if the authorities act with the English inherent instincts of honour and justice.

Besides the Proclamation, your own speeches show wherein the true strength of the British rule lies, and what consequences in the stability and lastingness of the Empire would be in justice and righteousness. Only about a week ago, on the 16th inst., you paid a true tribute to the Queen, especially in connexion with India. You said:—

"In the great Empire of India, with its teeming millions, the personality of the Sovereign came home to them individually. He was informed by the Viceroy and the various Governors that the grief of all sections of society was quite indescribable. Even the district officers in the remote parts of the country while going about their work were constantly interrupted by women and children running across to the offices to ask if the sad news was true that the great and good Queen was gone. It seemed to him as if the civilised world sorrowed in unison because it felt that it had lost one of the truest and most illustrious interpreters of the instincts of humanity."

Now, what was the Queen's highest interpretation of these "instincts of humanity"? After a mutiny, while vengeance was the cry from all sides, she proclaimed humanity. Let the Viceroy tell us how and by what acts of "the instincts of humanity" had the great Queen won the hearts of the hundreds of millions of her subjects. He said:—

"The hearts of all the Indian people had been drawn together by this singular and beautiful combination of mother, woman, and Queen. . . . . But were not all her reign and character summed up in the famous Proclamation of 1858, the Magna Charta of India, and the golden guide of our conduct and our aspirations? It might be said of her that she turned Great Britain into a world-wide Empire with India as its corner-stone." (INDIA, 8-2-1901.)

And now I ask you: Is this—the greatest event of the Queen's reign and character, the Magna Charta of India, the golden guide of your conduct and aspirations—to be insulted and stultified by persisting in the violation of this great solemn pledge during the past century?

May I not expect from you as the first Minister and apostle of this century of her great trust of "instincts of humanity," to fulfil honestly and honourably her solemn behests? What more need I say? I would only request your attention to two of my letters to the Indian Royal Commission, Nos. N and V, sent herewith.[1]

* * * *

I fully trust that you will not misunderstand the spirit in which I am writing these letters. My whole desire is that Britain and India may remain together on *British* lines, and do each other immense benefit, or, I may say, to mankind at large, by the extraordinary righteous example of an Empire, of connexion between two great peoples, with benefit to all.

I also request that you would not consider it any want of due respect to you that I have not repeated "Your Lordship."

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
DADABHAI NAOROJI.

Rt. Hon. Lord George Hamilton, M.P.,
India Office, London, S.W.

India Office,
March 7, 1900.

Dear Sir,—I am desired by Lord George Hamilton to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of February 26, and to say that, as regards the question of the obligations of the British Government to India, he has nothing to add to what was contained in his lordship's letter to you of December 6 last.

I am,
Yours faithfully,
RICHMOND RITCHIE.

Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq.

"SOME URGENTLY NEEDED REFORMS."

Mr. C. W. Whish, of the Indian Civil Service, has produced an interesting little pamphlet "on some urgently-needed reforms in the administration of India, which would tend to the contentment and the loyalty of the people and facilitate the legitimate progress of the country"—a title which rather suggests the question, What is illegitimate progress? Mr. Whish, who was a magistrate and Collector in India, proposes four reforms: (1) the raising of the minimum of taxation under the Income Tax Act; (2) the substitution of arbitration for litigation; (3) the abolition of revenue offices; and (4) the remodelling of the police force. Mr. Whish's remarks on the police force and his general conclusion are as follow:—

Finally, as to the remodelling of the Police Force. The changes that I would advocate here are the substitution of one or two highly paid and carefully selected officers for the numerous small men now to be found in every district, and the almost total abolition of preliminary enquiries by the Police in criminal cases. The petty officers could not all be dispensed with, but they would be the nominees of their superior officer, and he would be responsible for their conduct. The high pay and the patronage would attract to the Police the very class who now sedulously avoid it, the aristocracy of India. This alone, almost, would act as a cure for most of the evils which afflict the Force, which contains within itself potentialities of great excellence. Just as in the case of the Revenue officials, it is necessary to invest these men with very large powers, in order to enable them to do their work at all. It is absurd to expect petty and ill-paid men to exercise their powers otherwise than oppressively.

Subordinate them directly to a countryman of their own, who knows all their little ways, and you have the best chance of getting good work out of them, and obtaining the administrative perfection of a maximum of efficiency, combined with a minimum of interference with the people. Under present circumstances it is rarely that on any day in the year any village escapes a visit from some myrmidon of either Revenue or Police office. You must always have a rural policeman or village watchman, and a revenue accountant on the spot. But if they are subordinated to an officer at Headquarters, under the personal supervision of the European District Officer, they will be much less powerful for evil than they are at present. You want, at any cost almost, to get rid of the constant irritation of the visits of almost irresponsible subordinates.

In the Police this irritation is kept up by the practice of allowing them to make preliminary local enquiries in criminal cases. As stated in another place, they rarely have the slightest aptitude for this kind of work, and they seldom or never afford redress to the person injured—in fact, more often cause him additional loss; this is brought about by the necessity of feeding the Police, all the time they are in the village, by having to pay blackmail, and sometimes by having the female members of his family insulted. For it is a favourite trick, when a scapegoat cannot be found for the crime, to insinuate that it is due to some intrigue reflecting on the family honour. The crime is then struck off the register, and the Police re-

[1] Copies of these letters may be obtained on application to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, 84 and 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.

leased from the constant pressure from Headquarters to find out the criminal, which too often tempts them to invent one.

I would keep the Force to their legitimate duties of patrol, and the prevention of crime, and entirely discourage these local enquiries unless by a Court of Justice or a regular Commissioner. Of course I would not fetter the discretion of the superior Police officer, to whom I would ordinarily give magisterial powers. But I feel convinced that in nine cases out of ten he would direct the complainant to produce his witnesses in Court, and confine the functions of the Police to the arrest of the accused, and the service of summonses.

Under present circumstances the one idea of everybody is to conceal crime. From this flows directly the worst evil of all—the actual manufacture of crime by the Police: they are judged too often on a vicious system of statistics, and in order to arrive at theoretical perfection must create crimes to make up for the real ones which are concealed. This they can do easily enough by allowing persons whom they know to have committed a burglary to put stolen property in the houses of suspicious characters resident within their jurisdiction. It is unnecessary to state that they connive at crime, especially if promised a good "case" which is certain to end in conviction.

Judge the Police by their general work, and reputation for honesty, and on no statistical basis whatever, and the large majority of these scandals would cease. Insist upon their co-operating with adjoining jurisdictions, and not working for their own hand alone, and they could prevent most crimes. Then in the rare event of a crime being committed they would have the whole of the populace with them, instead of being against them as is too often the case at present, with a result destructive of their efficiency.

I firmly believe that under a system of this sort the Force would attract the very best men in the country. They would value the independence, and above all the patronage, and would feel a pride in preventing crime, and earning a reputation for honest work. They would of course be free from over-inspection, and from that scourge of India, statistical tests. I think the Police should be an Imperial Service, directly under the Government of India, for they must be free from provincialism, or the best men will not come in. The present European Staff I would mostly draft into the Armed Branch. For civil and detective work we want good Native officers under a European Head in Simla or Calcutta. The Armed Branch might largely assist in patrol work, and certain other departments of work usually regarded as civil. The reason why I would have the Native officer the working unit is because he knows the country and the people, and can find out what is going on under the surface of things as no European can. For armed or quasi-military Police, European officers are, of course, essential. Gradually I would attract to the force commissioned officers of the Regular or Volunteer Army. Under a rational Police system India's prosperity would go up by leaps and bounds.

Of the above reforms the principles, at least, are unassailable.

No one will deny that taxation should not be oppressive, and that litigation is an evil. But what are our officials doing to save the people of India from these evils? Do they even recognise that it is a part of their duty to make enquiries into these matters? If this is not the case, there must surely be something wrong. I have instanced two easy methods of putting this wrong right in the first two reforms I have advocated. The second two are more difficult, drastic, and startling, but I nevertheless believe in both their necessity and feasibility. But in any case measures might be taken to find out the opinions of the people, and above all of our own Native subordinate staff, on these points. The Native officer not only knows the country and the people, but he knows the inner workings of our system as no one else can, and he of all persons in the country is most obstinately silent on the question of reform. Now what is the reason for this lamentable state of things? The reason is twofold: first, because, according to Oriental ideas, it is bad form to criticise a system which you are paid to work, and secondly, because of actual personal fear. It is most distressing that it should be so, but it is nevertheless true, that the Native pensioned and retired official, who could be of all men the most useful in this respect, has got it firmly into his head that his pension will be in jeopardy if he gives an unbiased opinion. Of course no system can be perfect, there must be defects in the working of all. In free countries like England, the bracing air of unfettered public opinion perfects most systems by pointing out defects and getting them remedied. But in an Oriental country you must supply this tonic by artificial means. For the honour of our country and for the welfare of these helpless people whom Providence has committed to our care, let us get this grievous misunderstanding put right. Let us rather get it into the heads of these pensioned officials that they will lose their pensions if they do not tell us what in their opinion is wrong in our system, and how we could put it right! This is the grievous wrong which the so-called friends of India have done to their country—that they have branded even temperate criticism as sedition. Find out the legitimate grievances of the people and redress them, and there will be no such thing as sedition. You will certainly find a number of unreasonable and irremediable grievances, but I do not think you would find any difficulty in persuading the majority of people that they must be endured. What is so heartrending is that with the present embargo on free speech, and almost on free thought, the legitimate and remediable grievances are obscured. There results an absolutely dangerous condition of public feeling, unless, indeed, it is neutralised by an apathy and despondency which are equally deplorable. In short, the present state of things constitutes a disgrace, if not an actual danger to the Empire. No one would advocate hasty and ill-considered reforms, merely to be making some progress towards a better state of things. And towards this end the great means is free discussion and the comparison of as large a number of opinions as possible. The greater the number of people who think on political subjects the better will be the chance of their being taken up on right lines.

I may add to the above, at some future period, a few words on social intercourse, the indigenous Press, and local industries; but the four topics here treated of seem to overshadow all others in importance.

THE "OPEN DOOR."

INDIAN APPRENTICES AND ENGLISH TRADE UNIONISTS.

When Mr. Nilkant B. Wagle narrated his experiences of English factory life last December before a meeting of the National Indian Association, he pointed out that some workmen in this country had treated him as a foreigner when he sought to obtain admission to certain factories. Among his audience, fortunately, was Mr. Thomas Shore, who has inherited a keen interest in the welfare of India from his friend the late Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, whose name is honoured throughout that country. Mr. Shore not only regretted that feeling among British workmen, but made practical efforts to simplify the way of Indian industrial students who might come to England in future. Subsequently Mr. W. C. Wade, the energetic Secretary of the Metropolitan Radical Federation, and a great friend of India, lent his aid, and has now entrusted to Mr. Wagle the following message, from an organisation representative of intelligent working men, to be delivered to Mr. Wagle's countrymen. Now that the attention of the people of India is being increasingly drawn towards industrial education, it may be hoped that the friendly offer will be appreciated and advantage taken of it. It is expected that the matter will be noticed at the next Trade Union Congress.

The resolution is as follows:—

At a meeting held on Saturday, April 20, 1901, at the North Camberwell Progressive Club, London, the Council of the Metropolitan Radical Federation, which is composed of delegates from London Working Men's Clubs and other organisations, numbering in all about 40,000 members, having heard Mr. N. B. Wagle's address on "The Industrial Condition of India," hereby affirm:—

That the assembled delegates have a profound interest in, and a deep sympathy for, the people of India.

That they are of opinion that the industrial benefits of the British Empire should be enjoyed by every one of its inhabitants.

That the enormous population of India—forming the vast bulk of the Empire—has a very strong right to the industrial opportunities and benefits of the British Empire.

That they have learned with pleasure that Indian students are beginning to interest themselves in the "industrial condition of India" and are preparing themselves to take an active part in the necessary work of education to raise the industrial condition of the Natives of India.

That they as British workmen wish them every success, believing that the progress of India will have beneficial results for the rest of the British Empire—and promise them all the help that is in their power.

Signed on behalf of the meeting,

F. S. W. Pettengell, Chairman.
W. C. Wade, Hon. Sec.

Name of Delegate, Organisation, and Trade or Profession.

F. S. W. Pettengell (Strand Liberal and Radical Association), Waistcoat-maker.
W. C. Wade (Mildmay Radical Club), Clerk.
R. Staton (Hammersmith Club), Bootmaker.
J. W. Logan (Mildmay Radical Club), Chartered Accountant.
A. T. Marks (North Camberwell Progressive Club), Casemaker.
R. Fletcher (Mildmay Radical Club), Lampmaker.
F. Facey (North Camberwell Radical Club), Civil Servant.
W. A. Fuller (Mildmay Radical Club), Clerk.
F. Taylor (New Lansdowne Club), Clerk.
W. Perkins (New Lansdowne Club), Bootmaker.
G. R. Symes (Plumstead Radical Club), Clerk.
A. Priest (West Marylebone Liberal Association), Schoolkeeper.
E. Pascoe (Borough Bethnal Green Radical Club), Bootmaker.
W. Gillison (Borough Bethnal Green Radical Club), Bootclicker.
J. R. Tooley (North-East Bethnal Green Radical Club), Boot Salesman.
A. Magrath (Newington Reform Club), Agent.
J. Beeching (North Brixton Gladstone Club), Grainer.
F. C. Honey (North Camberwell Radical Club).
T. H. Mills (North Camberwell Radical Club), Bootmaker.
R. D. Chandler (Battersea Liberal Club), Clerk.
W. A. Groom (Bow and Bromley Progressive Club), Boot Trade.
F. Verinder (English Land Restoration League), Journalist.
J. Griggs (Fawcett Liberal Club), Painter.
G. Fry (North Camberwell Radical Club), Compositor.
G. Hibbard (Mildmay Radical Club), Decorator.

PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO INDIA.

To be obtained from
THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
84-85, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

Reports of the Proceedings at the Annual Sessions of the Indian National Congress, from the 3rd to the 14th Session. 2s. each, post free.

The Skeleton at the (Jubilee) Feast (Congress Green Book I.), by SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, Bart. (being a series of suggestions for the prevention of famine in India). Post free, 7d.

Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure: Evidence-in-Chief of the Indian Witnesses. (Congress Green Book II.) Post free, 1s. 10d.

The Proposed Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions in India. Memorial to the Secretary of State. With two Appendices. (Congress Green Book III.) Post free, 1s. 2d.

Two Statements presented to the Indian Currency Committee (1898), by MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI.

Speech by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., in the House of Commons, August 14, 1894, on the Debate on the Indian Budget.
Ditto do. in the House of Commons, February 12, 1895, on the Debate on the Address.
Ditto do. on British Rule in India (1898).

Presidential Address by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., delivered to the Indian National Congress at Lahore, 1893.

Presidential Address by Mr. A. M. Bose, M.A., delivered to the Indian National Congress at Madras, 1898.

Speeches of Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., President of the Indian National Congress, 1894-5.

Valedictory Address of Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., delivered at Bombay, January 17, 1895.

Speeches of Mr. D. E. Wacha delivered at the 9th, 11th and 14th Sessions of the Indian National Congress.

Is the Government of India Responsible to Anyone, and if so to Whom? Speech delivered at Croydon by MR. W. C. BONNERJEE.

The Famine in India. Speeches delivered at a Public Reception to Mr. Vaughan Nash on his return from the Famine Districts, July, 1900.

Mr. A. O. Hume's Farewell to India. Speech delivered at Bombay, 1894.

India Reform Pamphlet IX. The State and Government of India under its Native Rulers. 3d.

The Indian National Congress: its Aims and Justification. By ROBERT KNIGHT.

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